

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 296629 TOSEC 320050

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 296629 TOSEC 320050

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, EG, UN

SUBJECT: ARAB TACTICS IN THE UN AND PROPOSED EGYPTIAN

UNGA RESOLUTION ON MIDDLE EAST

S/S: REPEATED AS ATTACHMENT TO NEA/IO ACTION MEMO TO
SECRETARY, SUBJECT: UNGA CONSIDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST,
S/S NO. 7625206 -- PLEASE ATTACH TO SAME.

FOLLOWING REPEAT SECSTATE 296629 SENT ACTION USUN 07 DEC 76

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 296629

EXDIS USUN FOR GOVERNOR SCRANTON ONLY

FOL REPEAT STATE 296629 ACTION CAIRO DTD 6 DEC.

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 296629

EXDIS, FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

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PAGE 02 STATE 296629 TOSEC 320050

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, EG, UN

SUBJECT: ARAB TACTICS IN THE UN AND PROPOSED EGYPTIAN
UNGA RESOLUTION ON MIDDLE EAST

REF: STATE 294516

1. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO HAVE A HEART-TO-HEART TALK WITH FAHMY ABOUT CURRENT ARAB TACTICS AT THE UN, IN WHICH THE EGYPTIANS OFTEN APPEAR TO BE TAKING THE LEAD AND WHICH CLEARLY SEEM DESIGNED TO BRING CONTINUING PRESSURE ON USG WITH RESPECT TO A WHOLE RANGE OF MIDDLE EAST QUESTIONS. I WOULD LIKE TO GET THE EGYPTIANS TO REFLECT SERIOUSLY ON WHETHER THIS IS A WISE TACTIC FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW DURING OUR TRANSITION PERIOD AND IN THE EARLY WEEKS OF A NEW ADMINISTRATION. IN THIS CONTEXT, YOU SHOULD TAKE UP AS THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF THESE TACTICS THE PROPOSED EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION (TEXT IN PARA 3) IN THE CURRENT GENERAL ASSEMBLY MIDDLE EAST DEBATE WHICH, INTER ALIA, CALLS FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST EARLY NEXT YEAR AND FOR A RECONVENING THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE NOT LATER THAN THE END OF MARCH.

2. YOU SHOULD CONVEY THE FOLLOWING TO FAHMY, SAYING THAT YOU ARE SPEAKING ON MY BEHALF AND THAT WE FEEL THIS ISSUE

IS SUFFICIENTLY IMPORTANT THAT I WOULD APPRECIATE HIS CONVEYING MY VIEWS TO SADAT.

-- I REGRET THAT FAHMY AND I HAVE HAD NO OPPORTUNITY FOR A GOOD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS DIRECTLY BETWEEN US AND AM CONCERNED THAT AS A RESULT WE ARE IN DANGER OF LOSING THE KIND OF RAPPORT AND COMPREHENSION OF EACH OTHER'S POINTS OF VIEW WHICH HAVE ENABLED US TO PURSUE A COMMON STRATEGY AND AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

-- IN RECENT WEEKS WE HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO A CONTINUOUS SERIES OF MOVES IN THE UNITED NATIONS FORCING US TO TAKE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 296629 TOSEC 320050

POSITIONS ON CONTENTIOUS MIDDLE EAST ISSUES WHICH, WITH THE BEST WILL IN THE WORLD, CANNOT HELP BUT POLARIZE THE SITUATION. WE ARE NOT ABLE TO TAKE INITIATIVES OR CHANGE POSITIONS IN THE FINAL WEEKS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND FORCING VOTES ONE AFTER ANOTHER AT THIS TIME CAN ONLY HAVE THE CUMMULATIVE EFFECT OF REDUCING THE FLEXIBILITY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WHEN IT TAKES OFFICE.

-- I WOULD SINCERELY URGE FAHMY TO CONSIDER WHETHER IT WOULD NOT BE WISER TO CALL A MORATORIUM ON FURTHER MIDDLE EAST ACTIONS DURING THE BALANCE OF THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND TO GIVE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION SOME

BREATHING SPACE AFTER IT TAKES OFFICE IN JANUARY.

-- THE LATEST CASE IN POINT IS THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION WHICH THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT PLANS TO SUBMIT DURING THE CURRENT MIDDLE EAST DEBATE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND WHICH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON HAVE ASKED US TO SUPPORT.

-- FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW THE KEY PROVISIONS OF THE RESOLUTION, AND ONES THAT ARE MOST DIFFICULT FOR US, ARE: FIRST, THE PARAGRAPH THAT REQUESTS THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONVENE SUBSEQUENT TO THE SUBMISSION BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF A REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION-- THIS WOULD BRING ABOUT A COUNCIL MEETING SOME TIME IN MARCH; AND, SECOND, THE PROVISION WHICH WE NOW UNDERSTAND HAS BEEN ADDED CALLING FOR RESUMPTION OF THE QUOTE PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST UNQUOTE NOT LATER THAN THE END OF MARCH.

-- I MUST IN ALL FRANKNESS SAY THAT I THINK IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE ON THE PART OF THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS TO FORCE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO DEAL WITH THE COMPLEX ISSUES OF THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE PUBLIC AND CONTENTIOUS ATMOSPHERE OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IN THE FIRST TWO MONTHS AFTER IT HAS TAKEN OFFICE. TO PROPOSE THAT IT

DO SO IN A MATTER OF WEEKS AFTER JANUARY 20 CAN ONLY HAVE EFFECTS SERIOUSLY DETRIMENTAL TO THE PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY RENEWAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 296629 TOSEC 320050

-- AT A TIME WHEN I WOULD HOPE A NEW ADMINISTRATION COULD BE CONCENTRATING ON INITIATIVES TO SURMOUNT SOME OF THE VERY REAL PROBLEMS THAT EXIST IN RESTARTING NEGOTIATIONS, IT WILL BE HAVING TO COPE WITH ALL OF THE DIVISIVE ISSUES THAT CHARACTERIZE THESE COUNCIL MEETINGS AND WILL BE HAVING TO TAKE SIDES WITH RESPECT TO PROPOSALS THAT CAN ONLY REDUCE ITS CREDIBILITY WITH ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER AND LIMIT ITS CAPACITY TO MOVE IN CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL.

-- IN THE END, WE HAVE SEEN TIME AND TIME AGAIN, THE COUNCIL WILL PRODUCE A RESULT THAT WILL IN NO WAY ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE OR LEAD TO RENEWAL OF REALISTIC NEGOTIATIONS. QUITE THE CONTRARY. I STRONGLY URGE YOU, THEREFORE, IF YOU CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO PURSUE SUCH A RESOLUTION AT ALL, TO LEAVE OPEN THE TIMING OF THESE EVENTS. I ASSUME THAT SHOULD THERE BE UNDERWAY BY SOME TIME EARLY IN THE YEAR A SERIOUS AND MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATING PROCESS, OR SHOULD IT BE CLEAR THAT WE ARE MOVING TOWARD THE COMMENCEMENT OF SUCH A PROCESS, ALL OF THE PARTIES

INVOLVED WOULD PREFER TO CONTINUE WITH THAT RATHER THAN TO BE DIVERTED BY A COUNCIL MEETING, WHICH COULD WELL HAVE THE EFFECT OF REDUCING, RATHER THAN ENHANCING, NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY. WE SHOULD LEAVE THEM LATITUDE TO MAKE THIS DECISION.

-- WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, I WANT TO BE CANDID WITH YOU AND SAY THAT I DO NOT SEE HOW THE UNITED STATES COULD SUPPORT A RESOLUTION WHICH SADDLED THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION WITH A COUNCIL MEETING SOON AFTER IT TAKES OFFICE, OR WHICH SET A SPECIFIC DATE FOR THE CONVENING OF A QUOTE PEACE CONFERENCE UNQUOTE.

3. TEXT OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION FOLLOWS:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING DISCUSSED THE ITEM ENTITLED "THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST"

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 296629 TOSEC 320050

TAKING NOTE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ON THE ITEM AND HIS INITIATIVE OF APRIL 1, 1976;

GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARDS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST;

CONVINCED THAT ANY RELAXATION IN THE SEARCH FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT COVERING ALL ASPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM TO ACHIEVE A JUST PEACE IN THE AREA CONSTITUTES A GRAVE THREAT TO THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS WELL AS A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY;

1. CALLS FOR THE EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE UN PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST NOT LATER THAN THE END OF MARCH.

2. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO RESUME CONTACTS WITH ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS INITIATIVE OF 1 APRIL 1976; IN PREPARATION TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE UN PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST;

3. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO SUBMIT A REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE RESULTS OF HIS CONTACTS AND THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOT LATER THAN 1 MARCH 1977;

4. REQUESTS THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONVENE SUBSEQUENT TO THE SUBMISSION BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL

OF THE REPORT REFERRED TO ABOVE IN ORDER TO CONSIDER
THE SITUATION IN THE AREA IN THE LIGHT OF THAT REPORT,
AND TO PROMOTE THE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE AREA;

5. REQUESTS FURTHER THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO INFORM THE
CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE UN PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE
EAST OF THIS RESOLUTION.

KISSINGER

UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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PAGE 06 STATE 296629 TOSEC 320050

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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